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241 412 section is clearly set off from the round part. The Eastern Timbira term for this implement, plčwapo, means "sharp, flat wood." In probing for tubers, especially for sweet potatoes, these farmers use a special pointed stick some 40 cm. in length, which is often derived from the end of a worn-out bow. These two are the only native agricultural implements that persist in contemporary use in Ponto.

242 Except for rice and bitter manioc, plants of one species rarely occupy one continuous major strip, the general practice being to dispose them in patches here and there or mixed with other crops.

243 177 Among Timbira cultivated plants, maize holds the place of honor, being the only one whose origin is explained by a myth. Though Ribeiro mentions only two indigenous varieties,[167] the Rąmkõ'kamekra raise four kinds of small-kerneled maize which they derive from the legendary Star maiden, Kaččkwę'i, viz. 1, põhįpéy, true or good maize, with small, white, and very soft kernels; 2, põhįyaká, white maize, somewhat larger, but otherwise similar; 3, põhįkreakáre, with small blue kernels; and 4, to'rómre, with black kernels of medium size. The large-kerneled varieties, põhįti, are additions from the Neobrazilians.

243 221 805 The appearance of the Pleiades (krot) after sunset on the western horizon is a harbinger of the rainy season and indicates the need for starting a clearing in order to plant at the first rainfall. This ushers in the meipimrą'k period (p. 84), roughly coterminous with the rainy season since it ends with the commencement of the maize harvest.

243 624 796 *Horticultural rites.*—A man named Võkrãkę', whose maternal home is on the east side of the village circle, is charged with ceremonially opening the planting as well as the harvesting of maize. On the former occasion there figures a small gourd bowl whose edge is painted with urucú and which is filled with maize kernels. Võkrãkę' takes this container to the plaza and sets it on the ground, where people dance around it. Then he takes the bowl to his wife's plot and plants the maize, whereupon others are free to follow his example. After this functionary's death his office descends to the matrilineal kinsman to whom he has transferred his name.

243 782 796 When the maize stands about 1 m. high, another ceremony is held in order to induce the Moon, Pųduvrį, to ward off noxious animal parasites from the plants. Clapping together their hands and singing "Pųduvrįre kayẽ'yẽ' rivahá vaká mopó tu krére," all the villagers of both sexes then slowly dance in the plaza on a full-moon night, moving from the north southward under the leadership of a precentor wielding his rattle. In the rainy season they fear a lunar eclipse even far more than during the dry period, for they think it would destroy the crops. The relevant ceremonies will be described later.

776 782 In case of drought, however, not the Moon, but the Sun, Pųt, is addressed. Three old men then march round the boulevard, singing "kedeti/imąpéy/vayakrį' (Grandfather [=sun],/be good to me and/gladden me [by rain])."

796 624 243 No one—not even the woman owning the plot—is free to eat of the crop until the councilors have tasted of it and declared it mature. The maize harvest is opened by the same man, Võkrãkę', who inaugurated the planting season. First, a hunting party leaves to secure meat for the village. When they return with game, Võkrãkę' asks his wife to fetch from the plots a carrying basket full of maize ears, which are husked and cooked into meat pies to be served to the councilors in the plaza. Of the husks Võkrãkę' makes some twenty shuttlecocks, which his son Rąrą'k takes to the plaza and throws, one by one, into the circle of players. These throw each ball toward one another with the palm of the hand as long as possible without per-

[167] Memoria, § 11.

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mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[160] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[160] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

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Their public cult performances may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and several years elapsed before I discovered a private act unrelated to animism.

The Sun and Moon myth of the Eastern Timbira greatly resembles that of the Apinayé[86] and Šerénte. I heard it not only among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, but also wholly or in part among the Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye, Krẽyé of Bacabal, and the Krahõ'. Both characters are conceived as male and as unrelated to each other. In Rąmkõ'kamekra myth they create mankind by diving in a brook, in a Pụkóbye variant, from bottle gourds in a plantation; but in none of the other six episodes of the myth do they in any way work for the benefit of humanity. Nevertheless the Rąmkõ'kamekra regard themselves as primarily dependent on the Sun (Pụt) and in much lesser degree also on the Moon (Pụduvrí).

The purpose of all the general cult performances is to invoke the heavenly bodies to protect food plants and animals. These acts comprise prayers to the Sun for rain (p. 62), for protection of game animals (p. 71), and on behalf of wild fruits (p. 72); and to the Moon to prosper the crops when maize has grown to about 3 feet in height (p. 62).

On the other hand, there was no trace of religion at the maize-planting ceremony (p. 62), nor was the hõčwá ceremony on behalf of the sweet-potato crop at all related to Sun and Moon worship, though it does bear a magical significance (p. 63).

During the entire period of my stay I witnessed only two instances of a person's supplicating the Sun. The first time a young woman was praying for a child (p. 130); the second time I heard a mother instructing her approximately seven-year-old son, who had been ill for a long time, to invoke the Sun as follows: "Kédeti! Iymą̃ ampõ'ńo, vatoekũne iypey! (Grandfather! Give me a remedy so that I'll recover!)" Further, I learnt that, when putting the mats soiled at the delivery into the fork of a steppe tree, the mother of a lying-in woman supplicates the Sun, as stated (p. 106), to protect the newborn infant.

The prayers have no fixed text, the suppliant addressing the Sun spontaneously as though conversing with an ordinary person. Thus some address him as pa'pám, Our Father; others as Kédeti, Grandfather. I have never heard of any Rąmkõ'kamekra seeing Sun or Moon in dreams or visions.

There is little knowledge of the course of the heavenly bodies. Time is reckoned by lunar phases and by seasons (rainy and dry). They do not know how many full moons there are in a year, being handicapped by their aboriginal number system, which does not go beyond four. They do not ponder the nature of the solar body. They know approximately where the sun rises and sets during the wet and the dry season, but they do not empirically determine the solstice or use it in time reckoning.

The younger age classes, regularly assembled in the plaza at sunset, always consider it fun to expect the appearance of the new moon, each youth vying with the rest to discover it first. As soon as it is detected, everybody raises his hands and utters piercing shouts "to give pleasure to the Moon."

The moon spots are explained in Rąmkõ'kamekra myth (p. 244) and somewhat differently by the Krẽyé of Bacabal.[87] No explanation was obtained for the lunar phases.

A lunar eclipse is called pụduvrị hitịk, that is, dying of the moon. In 1935 I witnessed one and went purposely to the plaza to sleep there. Since the sky was somewhat clouded, the Indians did not notice what was going on until the darkening

[86] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 158.
[87] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengês.

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was considerably advanced. I heard one of the padntuktíma arousing his companions and directing their attention to the phenomenon. For about five minutes they were watching without knowing what to do, then one of them ran off to bring and question an old great-uncle. At once the village grew animated, voices became audible, fires began to blaze, the chiefs and councilors assembled and summoned a precentor. Gradually the entire village foregathered in the plaza. Forming a circle round the precentor, some fifty men and youths danced unremittingly while singing, "pụduvrị kayĕ'! pụduvrị kayĕyĕ' riwahá neymã' pụdupére!"

Others made bundles of from four to six large and empty gourd bottles and used them as loud rattles. In the meantime the total eclipse had set in. Round about the squares in front of all the houses huge fires were blazing.

An old man appeared, followed by two women, each leading by the hand a girl of eight or nine. The girls lay down on their backs on a mat that was extended on the plaza for them. Two or three youths made a number of incendiary arrows, wato'hạ'ra, by sticking kerneled corncobs to the tips and igniting them at the fireplaces. These missiles they shot incessantly at the moon, boys picking them up again. Since the moon was in its zenith, the arrows fell back into the crowd, which had to guard against being struck by them. As soon as the moon began to reappear from the shadow, the general excitement abated, but the chanting continued until after 3 A.M., when the moon was again quite undimmed. The two girls likewise remained until then; I was told that the moon "took" them and then recovered. No subsequent obligations devolve on them.

According to Kissenberth[m] the Northern Kayapó, singing chants of lamentation and prayer, shoot burning arrows at the moon during an eclipse in order to restore its light and prevent its death, whereby it would tumble on them and destroy everyone.

I have never experienced a solar eclipse among the Timbira. It was interpreted to me as a struggle between sun and moon; the last time "the big star that accompanies the moon" had also taken part. In contrast to practice during a lunar eclipse no steps of any kind are taken; the people simply wait in great anxiety for the passage of the phenomenon. Children must not look at the darkened sun.

In 1910, Halley's comet caused great alarm. The Rąmkõ'kamekra were afraid of a world conflagration. At that time a precentor long since dead revived the song alluded to above (p. 190): "The star is already setting (the earth) aflame!" Usually this comet is called kačĕ'ti kamakum because its tail is conceived as smoke (kum).

Meteors (a'krã) flashing above the horizon excite little concern. Only when they pass near by are the people vaguely afraid of some noxious influence.

When a shooting star glides across the nocturnal sky it is said to be a star running to the other side of the sky to get married. Thus, they divide the heavens into exogamous moieties like those of their own village circle.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra do not distinguish the major planets and know only a few constellations, of which the Pleiades (krot) are the most important. When they become visible above the western horizon after sunset, this is taken as a sign that the rainy season is approaching and that it is time to make clearings for planting.

The Milky Way with its dark spots is interpreted as an ostrich (mãti) whose head lies below the Southern Cross. If some night this ostrich should begin humming, it indicates that humanity is to be destroyed. He has already done so once, dragging one wing over the earth and thereby killing many people. Beside him stands a babassu (rõnti; *Orbignia speciosa*), formed by the constellation Scorpion

[m] Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 55.

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PARARE RACE OF KETÚAYE